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The People's Korea

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DPRK Launches World-Wide Campaign to Get U.S. Nukes Out of S. Korea, Renews Its Call for 3-Way Talks

See Related Articles on Pages 2, 3, 4 & 5

The Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly was held in Pyongyang from January 25 through 27 in the presence of President Kim Il Sung. (KCNA Radiophoto)

The DPRK appealed to the world community of nations to wage vigorous international campaigns for removal of the U.S. nuclear weapons from south Korea, renewing its call for tripartite talks with the United States and south Korea.

The call came in a resolution and an appeal which were adopted at the Jan. 25-27 Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK.

The resolution and the appeal said respectively:

"Under the grave situation in which one half of our country has turned into a nuclear forward base of the United States and the Korean Peninsula is becoming one of the most dangerous sources of a new world war, the Supreme People's Assembly decides to send an appeal to the parliaments and the governments of all countries the world over to request them to wage vigorous international movements for removal of the U.S. nuclear weapons from south Korea for the sake of peace in Korea, Asia and the world as a whole." (the resolution)

"We express the hope that the parliaments and governments of socialist countries, non-aligned countries, Third World countries and all the peace-loving countries of the world will strongly demand the United States withdraw nuclear weapons from south Korea without delay, stop bringing medium-range nuclear missiles and neutron weapons into south Korea, and put an immediate end to such nuclear war exercises as 'Team Spirit 84' and will vigorously wage an anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movement to turn the East Asian region including the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone completely removed from the nuclear weapons. (the appeal to parliaments and governments of all countries of the world)

The DPRK's parliament convened earlier than usual with efforts for peace and reunification of the Korean Peninsula first on the agenda.

The third session which was attended by deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly, including President Kim Il Sung and Mr. Kim Jong Il, discussed the following agenda items:

1. On providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland;

2. On strengthening South-South cooperation and external economic relations and further developing foreign trade;

3. On the account of the implementation of the state budget for 1983 and on the state budget for 1984 of the DPRK;

4. Organizational problem.

Virtually Rejects 4-Way Talks, N-S "Summit Conference"

In remarks to the first day sitting of the SPA session, Mr. Ho Dam, Member of the Political Bureau, and Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, stressed the need to have a three-way meeting with Washington and Seoul.

He said:

"The United States is under an unavoidable obligation to ensure peace in Korea and remove the obstacles lying in the way of Korean reunification.

"It is the United States that increases the U.S. armed forces in south Korea and ships nuclear weapons into south Korea; it is also the United States that commands all war exercises, large and small, in south Korea; and it is also none other than the United States that provides the 'ROK army' with military equipment and instigates it to military confrontation against the northern half of the Republic.

"Such being the case, the United States holding all the military powers in south Korea is chiefly to blame for the constant tension on the Korean Peninsula and for the present-day situation on the brink of war."

He also said the United States had proposed to Pyongyang through a third country that it could hold talks with the DPRK if south Korea joined in too.

In view of this, he said, "there is no reason for the United States to reject our proposal for tripartite talks."

As to a north-south dialogue, the former Minister of the Foreign Affairs had this to say:

"The north-south dialogue alone cannot solve the problem of removing military confrontation and basing the tension in Korea. It is the United States that acts master in south Korea with all the real powers including prerogative of military supreme command under its control. That being the case, how can one solve substantially the questions of either replacing the armistice agreement with a peace agreement or eliminating military confrontation by meeting only with the south Korean authorities without the prerogative of the supreme command of their 'ROK army'? "

"The tripartite talks between us and the United States with south Korea's participation is a most reasonable formula of talks for the peaceful solution of the Korean question at this point of the time," said Mr. Ho Dam.

As for the view that other countries besides the three should join in talks on a peaceful solution to the Korean question, Ho said, "There is no such a country today as the United States that directly meddles in our internal affairs, aggravates the tension and creates the danger of war. And there is also no such a country as the United States that still keeps its troops stationed on the Korean territory."

He said that the proposal made by the joint meeting to sign a peace agreement between us and the United States and adopt a declaration of non-aggression between the north and the south at the tripartite talks is an important step which makes it possible to decisively solve the question of easing the tensions and removing the danger of war in our country and creating preconditions for the independent and peaceful reunification.

1984 State Budget Scaled at 26,236.7 Million Won, 14.6% Go to Defense Spending

At the second-day sitting, Ms. Yun Gi Jong, Minister of Finance, made a report on state budgets for 1983 and 1984.

In her report, she said that the budget for this year projected 7.6 percent increase in revenue and a 9.2 percent growth in spending.

Both revenues and expenditures are set at 26,236,700,000 won, and defense spending will account for 14.6 percent of the total expenditure of the budget.

Last year, the DPRK's defense spending accounted for 14.8 percent of the budgetary expenditures.

She reported last year's state budgetary revenue totaled 24,383.6 million won, up 7.5 percent from 1982 and expenditures in 1983 was 24,018.6 million won, up 8.2 percent from a year earlier.

Need for S-S Cooperation

The second-day sitting adopted a resolution on strengthening South-South cooperation and external economic activity and further developing foreign trade.

The resolution said that S-S cooperation is a noble work of the developing countries for achieving economic independence through mutual economic and technical cooperation and an important part of the struggle for establishing a new international economic order.

It gave concrete accounts of Pyongyang's contributions to this area:

"In the spirit of South-South cooperation our country built more than 30 factories in 22 countries, conducted irrigation projects in over 20 countries and sent more than 5,000 technicians and experts to more than 50 developing countries in the past period, thus helping them in their building of new society in various domains."

The resolution also called for improved economic and technical ties with all nations which respect the *chajusong* of the DPRK, including capitalist countries which have no diplomatic ties with the DPRK.

"It is imperative for the development of economic and technical exchange with capitalitst countries to make frequent mutual visits and contacts and carry on technical exchange and economic collaboration on the principle of mutual interest," it urged.

"What is important in implementing the external economic policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic is to actively develop the relations of economic cooperation with all countries of the world with main stress on self-reliance," it stressed.

Li Jong Ok Elected Vice President, Kang Song San Premier

The Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which closed on Jan. 27 discussed the organisational problem at the last day sitting.

Deputy Li Jong Ok was elected Vice-President of the DPRK and Deputy Kang Song San Premier of the Administration Council of the DPRK on the recommendation of President Kim Il Sung. Deputy Kim I Hun was elected Secretary and Member of the Central People's Committee and Deputy Kim Bong Ju General Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

It was made public at the session that the Central People's Committee appointed Deputy Cho Se Ung as Vice-Premier of the Administration Council, Deputy Kim Bok Sin as Vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Chairman of the Light Industry Commission and Deputy Kim Chang Ju as Vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Chairman of the Agricultural Commission.

Resolution of SPA of DPRK

Pyongyang January 25 (KCNA)—The Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which opened in Pyongyang on January 25 adopted a resolution of the Supreme People's Assembly on providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Follows the full text of the resolution:

On providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has discussed the problem of providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland under the grave situation in which tensions have grown acute as never before and the danger of a war, a nuclear war in particular, is daily increasing in our country against the unanimous desire of the whole nation for peace and peaceful reunification.

The Supreme People's Assembly has confirmed the correctness of the new measure taken by the joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful solution of the Korean question and approves the report submitted to this session with the renewed clarification of the principled stand of the Government of the Republic for its realization.

The Supreme People's Assembly gives full support and approval to the proposal of epochal significance to hold tripartite talks, with the Seoul authorities participating on an equal footing in the talks between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, which was newly initiated by the joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to break the present deadlock and promote the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The Supreme People's Assembly approves the original texts of the letter sent to the government and the congress of the United States of America and the letter sent to the Seoul authorities respectively, proposing to hold the tripartite talks with the unanimous endorsement of the attendants at the Joint Meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Under the grave situation in which one half of our country has turned into a nuclear forward base of the United States and the Korean Peninsula is becoming one of the most dangerous sources of a new world war, the Supreme People's Assembly decides to send an appeal to the parliaments and the governments of all countries the world over to request them to wage vigorous international movements for removal of the U.S. nuclear weapons from south Korea for the sake of peace in Korea, Asia and the world as a whole.

The Supreme People's Assembly expresses the conviction that all the Korean people in north and south and overseas Koreans will surely prevent the danger of war and provide a guarantee for peace in Korea and open a new phase for the independent and peaceful reunification by promoting great national unity, transcending the differences in ideology, idea and social system, and waging a more vigorous struggle for peace and peaceful reunification of the country.

Kim Il Sung
President
Democratic People's Republic of Korea

January 25, 1984.
Pyongyang

On Providing Guarantee for Peace in Korea and Promoting Reunification

Report of Deputy Ho Dam

Deputy Ho Dam, Member of the Political Bureau, and Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, made a report on the first agenda-item "On providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland" at the Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which opened in Pyongyang on January 25.

Follows the full text of the report:

Comrade deputies,

The Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held a joint meeting on January 10, 1984, and took a new epochal step to prevent the ever-growing danger of war and safeguard peace in our country and to solve the Korean question in a peaceful way.

As you have already been informed, the joint meeting discussed the problem "On taking a new measure for the peaceful solution of the Korean question" and proposed holding tripartite talks between us and the United States with the south Korean authorities participating in the talks to discuss such problems as concluding a peace agreement between us and the United States and adopting a declaration of non-aggression between the north and the south. The meeting also adopted letters containing this proposal and sent them to the U.S. government and congress and to the Seoul authorities respectively.

The proposal advanced at the joint meeting is a new and important initiative of epochal significance in solving the Korean question in a peaceful way. It is a patriotic peace initiative for national salvation to deliver our nation from the holocaust of war, safeguard peace in Asia and the world and make a breakthrough for the country's reunification, the long-cherished supreme desire of our people, by removing the source of tension and war on the Korean Peninsula.

Our new proposal made by the joint meeting for the tripartite talks to ease tension and ensure a durable peace in Korea is an expression of our sincere efforts to resolve peacefully the serious developments on the Korean Peninsula at any cost through dialogue and negotiation; it is an expression of our burning desire to remain faithful to the national duty before our people and the peace-loving mission before the Asian and world people.

This new proposal set forth at the Joint Meeting of the CPC and the Standing Committee of the SPA of the DPRK, is evoking great repercussions not only in socialist countries and non-aligned nations but in capitalist countries for its justness and fairness and because of its correct reflection of the will of our people and the peace-loving peoples the world over and the demands of the times; it is also enjoying active support and approval from broad masses of world people of all walks of life including personages of political and public circles, to say nothing of all Korean people in the north and the south.

Informing the Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the new step taken at the Joint Meeting of the CPC and the Standing Committee of the SPA to ease tension in Korea and solve the Korean question in a peaceful way, now I would like to make a report on the first agenda-item "On providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland".

Comrade deputies,

As the joint meeting correctly pointed out, our country now finds itself at the grave crossroads of peace or war.

President Kim Il Sung taught as follows:

". . . south Korea has now become a most dangerous powder magazine and a U.S. base of nuclear war. And in our country there has been created an extremely tense situation which may spark off a war at any moment."

The long-standing acute military confrontation with huge armed forces of the north and the south concentrated along the Military Demarcation Line is constantly causing distrust and antagonism between both sides; the present situation is growing so extremely tense with pent-up distrust and antagonism that an accidental trifling incident might envelop the whole country in flames of war. In the south of the Military Demarcation Line, tens of thousands of U.S. troops and over 700,000 strong "ROK army" of south Korea equipped with up-to-date weapons of all types and means of war are in full combat readiness to invade the northern half of the Republic any moment. Besides, civilian forces such as "homeland reserve defense forces", "civilian defence corps" and "student homeland defence corps" numbering over ten million are on the constant alert.

Such huge armed forces have been concentrated in south Korea because it has become a major area of military strategic importance for the U.S. attempt to invade Asia.

In recent years the position and importance of south Korea in the Asian strategy of the United States have dramatically increased. The United States is trying to keep hold on south Korea as its most important stronghold on the Asian Continent, saying that it should seize Asia because "East Asia will be the focal point in the world in the remaining years of the century", and that "it should set foot on the Far East" to seize Asia. It is in pursuance of this strategic aim that the United States, which once pledged to withdraw its troops from south Korea, is instead reinforcing armed forces today. In south Korea the buildup of the armed forces and armaments is continuously going on; the modernization of the "ROK army" is in full swing; military installations and munition industries are newly set up and expended in a big way; and all the human and material resources are geared into war preparations.

Besides, provocative war exercises aimed to invade the northern half of the Republic are taking place almost every day. "Team Spirit" joint military exercises, which have been held annually since 1976 with the participation of the U.S. troops and the "ROK army" of south Korea, are being rapidly expended and intensified to a more dangerous stage assuming a provocative character as years go by. The "Team Spirit 83" joint military exercise, held last year with the participation of large armed forces 180,000 strong, nuclear weapons and other up-to-date arms of different kinds and war means, was such a very adventurous one little different from actual fighting that we could not but declare a semi-war state. This year, however, they are planning to conduct the largest military exercise ever in history, mobilizing much more armed forces and military equipment than last year. These large-scale provocative "Team Spirit" joint military exercises, as exposed by foreign publications, are a "test war" and a "preliminary war" to "examine and perfect the readiness of the armed forces for forestalling attack" on the northern half of the Republic.

All the military exercises in south Korea, without exception are virtually conducted with an aim to make an all-out attack on the northern half of the Republic from the ground, sea and air, taking us as an imaginary enemy. These ever-increasing war rackets are aggravating the tension to the extreme and bringing the situation to a more dangerous phase.

Amid the hovering war atmosphere, even nuclear weapons are deployed in south Korea in large quantities so that our country virtually finds itself on a hazardous nuclear powder magazine which may explode any minute. As made public before the world, already deployed in south Korea against the northern half of the Republic are more than 1,000 tactical nuclear weapons such as nuclear bombs and nuclear shells, and "F-16" fighter-bombers, "Lance" missiles, "Honest John" missiles, "Sergeant" missiles and other means of nuclear delivery, and atomic guns such as 8-inch howitzers and 155 mm howitzers. It is reported that there will be deployed in south Korea before long neutron bombs, "Pershing 2" medium-range nuclear missiles and cruise missiles, the means of mass destruction, which are strongly denounced and rejected in all parts of the world. It arouses deep apprehensions among the Asian and world peoples that south Korea is being turned into a U.S. nuclear forward base poised against the Asian Continent.

What is all the more serious is that a military tie-up is being strengthened between south Korea and Japan, which had invaded the Asian Continent and imposed great disasters upon many Asian countries in the past and which is now rapidly being revived under the U.S. strategic plan to embark on the road of overseas aggression again.

The tripartite military alliance now being actively formed between the United States, Japan and south Korea is aimed not only to open the road for the overseas dispatch of the Japanese "self-defence forces" including their advance into the Korean Peninsula, but also to provide "legal" conditions even for the advance of the south Korean

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Report of Deputy Ho Dam

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"ROK army" to the Asian-Pacific region. The joint operational plan has been drawn up between the United States, Japan and south Korea to attack the northern half of our Republic and joint military exercises take place frequently. This has rendered the situation in our country even more acute.

If a war breaks out again in Korea, it would not be confined within the boundary of Korea, but would rapidly expand on a world-wide scale.

Moreover, another Korean war will inevitably become a nuclear war, because south Korea has turned into a nuclear forward base and the American authorities themselves openly declare that "If a war break out in Korea, the United States will use nuclear weapons," and that "A second Korean war will be a nuclear war." Should a nuclear war break out in Korea, not only the Korean people but also the American people will not be safe and the whole world will be unable to evade the scourge of nuclear war.

The new proposal set forth at the Joint Meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK is a most timely measure taken to prevent the danger of war and solve the Korean question peacefully under the present situation.

Comrade deputies,

Our proposal for the tripartite talks adopted at the joint meeting graphically demonstrates once again the consistent peace-loving stand of the Government of our Republic for peace in the country and its independent and peaceful reunification.

To achieve peace and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country is the unanimous desire of the entire Korean people. No Korean desires the country's division or wants to live in the danger of war as it is today. If he is truly concerned about the destiny of the nation.

Since its foundation the Government of the Republic, reflecting the desire of the whole nation, has consistently directed its greatest attention to guaranteeing the country's peace and achieving its independent and peaceful reunification and made every effort to carry out this important historical task. At a time when the possibility of peaceful settlement of the Korean question was provided with the signing of the armistice agreement, we, at the Geneva conference held for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, put forward concrete proposals for withdrawing all the foreign troops from Korea as envisaged in the agreement and for achieving peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification; even when the conference was practically on the verge of breakdown, we did our best to come to agreement with the U.S. on the principled matters at least. However, the Geneva conference broke off at last due to the one-sided declaration of suspension on the part of the United States, and thereafter, the U.S. troops and the "ROK army" were reinforced continuously in south Korea. Even under these circumstances, the Government of the Republic, out of sincere desire for a durable peace in Korea, took the initiative of largely cutting the numerical strength of the Korean People's Army and the Government of the People's Republic of China withdrew the Chinese People's Volunteers.

In particular, in his historical reports and speeches addressed at the 10th anniversary celebration of the August 15 liberation in 1955, at the First Session of the 2nd Supreme People's Assembly in September 1957, at the 15th anniversary cerebration of the August 15 liberation in 1960, and at the First Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly in 1962, President Kim Il Sung, as a comprehensive measure for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, proposed to the south Korean authorities to enter into an agreement on withdrawing all foreign troops from Korea, drastically reducing armed forces and armaments of the north and the south and refraining from use of armed force against each other. He repeatedly elucidated the just reasonable and fair proposals for national reunification, from the problem of realizing contacts and exchanges between the north and south to the problem of achieving the reunification through general elections or a confederation.

All these proposals set forth by President Kim Il Sung for the country's peace and peaceful reunification enjoyed unanimous support and sympathy from the entire Korean people and the world peace-loving people as well, and gave a powerful encouragement and impetus to our people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

, President Kim Il Sung, with a clear insight into the fast changing situation at home and abroad in favour of our cause of national reunification at the beginning of the 1970s, put forward the policy of wide-range negotiations between the north and the south at his historic speech on August 6. Accordingly, a dialogue for reunification was arranged in our country and the July 4 north-south joint statement was made public, whose keynote is the three principles of national reunification set forth by the President.

At the dialogue our side put forward a series of proposals for hastening the country's reunification on the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, and further advanced a 5-point proposal to ease tensions and remove military confrontation, as the first step to dispel misunderstanding and distrust and promote mutual understanding and trust between the north and the south. The 5-point proposal was to cease armament reinforcement and arms race, to reduce the armed forces in the north and the south to 100,000 men or less respectively and drastically cut their armaments, to stop the introduction of all weapons and combat equipment and military supplies from outside, to make all foreign troops including the U.S. troops withdraw from our country, and to conclude a peace agreement.

However, the south Korean side refused even the discussion of this proposal under the unreasonable pretext of "prematurity", and in June 1973, they declared it their policy to perpetuate the country's division into "two Koreas" thus breaking off the north-south dialogue.

At this juncture, President Kim Il Sung propounded a historic 5-point policy for national reunification: The contents of which are to eliminate military confrontation and ease the tension between the north and the south, to realize many-sided cooperation and interchange between the north and the south, to convene a great national congress composed of representatives of the people from all walks of life and representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north and the south, to institute a north-south confederation under the single name of a Confederal Republic of Koryo, and to enter into the U.N. under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

Despite the repeated, sincere efforts on our part, the hardwon north-south dialogue came to a rupture in the end due to the unreasonable attitude on the part of south Korea.

The attitude of the south Korean authorities, who evaded discussing even at the dialogue table such an urgent problem as eliminating military confrontation and broke up the dialogue, was a reflection of the attitude of the United State which wanted neither dialogue nor relaxation of tensions.

At a press interview held next day after the July 4 north-south joint statement was made public, the spokesman of the U.S. State Department stated: Even if north-south dialogue is held, the U.S. will continue to help the modernization of the "ROK army" and will not withdraw the U.S. troops there, saying that only then would they make the south Korean authorities "negotiate with north Korea from the position of strength and with confidence.

This being the position of the United States, the south Korean authorities under its thumbs would naturally not agree to discussing our peace proposals.

The whole course of north-south dialogue strongly suggested that the south Korean authorities were not a party with real power to the dialogue who could discuss with us independently.

That is why we proposed to hold DPRK-U.S. talks to solve the problems directly with the United States, at the 3rd session of the 5th Supreme People's Assembly in March, 1974. Since then, the Government of the Republic had availed itself of every opportunity to call for open or behind-the-door DPRK-U.S. talks on many occasions and waited patiently for a positive response from the U.S., leaving the door of dialogue open.

But not a bright prospect of peace and peaceful reunification of the country was opened before our nation but a danger of permanent division and war was hanging more heavily over our country.

In order to open a decisive phase for national reunification under the prevailing situation, President Kim Il Sung clarified afresh at the historic 6th Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea the proposal for founding a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo and the ten-point policy of the Unified State.

This fair and reasonable proposal for national reunification, which had enjoyed warm support and response at home and abroad, is not only a most correct nation-saving program to accomplish the cause of national reunification, the long-cherished desire of the whole nation, but also a historic peace program to terminate the north-south confrontation and tensions and reliably guarantee a lasting peace for the unified fatherland.

Today, the Government of the Republic, regarding the proposal for the founding of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo put forward by the President as its unshakable reunification program, is making every effort to put it into effect.

Indeed, in the past period the Government of the Republic has sought every possible way for dialogue and taken every feasible measure for the peaceful solution of the Korean question, and repeatedly showed its sincerity and generosity by its deeds.

Despite such sincere efforts on our part, the Korean question still remains unsolved, but rather the situation is getting worse daily. This is attributable to the obstinous attitude of the United States that rejects the dialogue and tries to impose its own demand on others from the "position of strength".

As correctly mentioned in the joint meeting, no problem can be solved if one threatens the other from the "position of strength" or tries to force something on the other.

Ours is the era of *chajusong* when all countries and nations oppose the imperialist interference and aggression and shape their own destiny by themselves. Today no one wants to allow others to trample down and encroach on his national sovereignty and dignity and will not yield his just cause and sacred rights before the threat of force.

Our people are a dignified and valiant people who set great store by the national sovereignty won at the cost of blood through a prolonged arduous struggle under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung, and resolve to devote everything to it. They are an invincible people united as firm as a rock behind the party and the leader.

No policy based on the "position of strength" can work here our people. This was proven already through the Korean war in the 1950s and again through the extremely dangerous provocations in the 1960s and 1970s.

Should the United States continue to seek military confrontation to threaten us, instead of drawing proper lessons from these historical facts, there would come us nothing else but exchange of fire, after all.

The United States contends that such a wrong policy is aimed to cope with the so-called "threat of southward invasion" but this is little more than a subterfuge to justify the U.S. army's permanent occupation of south Korea and its arms buildup.

As is well known to the world, the Government of the Republic has already clarified time and again that it has no intention to invade the south. In the past there has been several periods of serious political disturbances in south Korea which were claimed to be the "golden chances for the north to invade the south." However, we did not invade the south on those occasions, but rather, made proposals for peaceful reunification to south Korea and called for the national unity of the north and the south, thus showing by actions that we had no intention to invade the south. If the United States cannot regard this enough to trust us, then it must respond to our proposal for a peace agreement which would guarantee against invading each other.

When they talk about the "threat of southward invasion," while turning their faces away from the proposal for a peace agreement, they prove by themselves that there is no threat of southward invasion actually. To reinforce the armed

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More than 100,000 citizens of Pyongyang gathered at Kim Il Sung square on last June 25, day of struggle against U.S., marching through main streets of Pyongyang, chanting slogan: "Let us reunify the country on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity!"

Report of Deputy Ho Dam

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forces and seek military confrontation in south Korea under the fictitious pretext of the "threat of southward invasion" is not an attitude to solve the problem peacefully and it cannot be regarded as a discreet behavior.

For the removal of the acute tension prevailing on the Korean Peninsula and the peaceful solution of the Korean question, it is necessary to find a war for the peaceful solution of the question through dialogue instead of further straining the situation in pursuit of military confrontation.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"The question of Korean reunification should be solved in a peaceful way through a dialogue in compliance with the demand of our people and the desire of the people the world over."

Dialogue alone will make it possible to prevent the danger of war and turn the situation in favor of peace and the independent and peaceful reunification, put an end to the abnormal DPRK-U.S. relations and the north-south relations coupled with military confrontation and find reasonable ways to peacefully solve the Korean question for the benefit of their mutual interests.

The position of the Government of the Republic to solve the Korean question peacefully through dialogue and negotiations still remains unchanged. We are convinced that our just stand to solve the problem through dialogue and negotiation will be certainly materialized, and consider that if the United States and the south Korean authorities, too, are sincere in the solution of the problem, they cannot help coming to talks.

The proposal for the tripartite talks put forward by the joint meeting this time is based precisely on such a consistent position and conviction of the Government of the Republic.

As rightly pointed out at the joint meeting, for the peaceful solution of the Korean question through dialogue, the proposed tripartite talks must be held with the south Korean authorities participating in the DPRK-U.S. talks.

The United States is under an unavoidable obligation to ensure peace in Korea and remove the obstacles lying in the way of Korean reunification. As a matter of common knowledge, the United States has stationed its troops in south Korea for nearly 40 years since the Second World War up to now.

Under the "mutual defence pact" with south Korea, the United States holds the "powers" to reinforce its troops unlimitedly and keep them there indefinitely.

Particularly, under the so-called "treaty on the transfer of the prerogative of supreme command" the commander of the U.S. army in south Korea holds the prerogative and operational command of the "ROK army" and has placed all armed forces in south Korea under his control.

It is the United States that increases the U.S. armed forces in south Korea and ships nuclear weapons into south Korea; it is also the United States that commands all war exercises, large and small, in south Korea; and it is also none other than the United States that provides the "ROK army" with military equipment and instigates it to military confrontation against the northern half of the Republic.

Such being the case, the United States holding all the military powers in south Korea is chiefly to blame for the constant tension on the Korean Peninsula and for the present-day situation on the brink of war. The fact that the United States as a signatory to the Korean Armistice Agreement sits at the table with us in Panmunjom today is in itself a clear evidence graphically showing that the United States is under such an unavoidable responsibility.

Therefore, in order to alleviate the tension and prevent the danger of war in our country, among other things, the question of relations with the United States, the fundamental question of removing the U.S. interference in our internal affairs must be solved and, to this end, talks should be held with the United States.

At the same time, the south Korean authorities, too, should take part in the talks as another party directly involved in the creation of the present tension, so as to fully solve in all aspects the question of removing the military confrontation and easing the tension in our country.

The south Korean authorities, following the tracks of the Asian policy of the United States, have left south Korea to the latter as its military base and are gearing all human and material resources of south Korea towards the implementation of the U.S. war policy and seeking the north-south confrontation with the backing of the outside forces.

Therefore, for peace in Korea, not only the United States must withdraw its troops from south Korea but also south Korea must not try to keep the U.S. forces there; and not only the United States must refrain from instigating the south Korean authorities to military confrontation but also the south Korean authorities must not seek confrontation with us.

The south Korean authorities' responsibility for such actions obstructive to the peace and peaceful reunification of the country has quite naturally placed themselves in a position to come out to the tripartite talks along with the United States.

The tripartite talks between us and the United States with south Korea's participation is a most reasonable formula of talks for the peaceful solution of the Korean question at this point of the time.

Nowadays, certain people say north-south dialogue rather than the tripartite talks should be held, but this cannot be regarded as the stand aimed to solve the question in good faith.

The north-south dialogue alone cannot solve the problem of removing military confrontation and easing the tension in Korea. It is the United States that acts master in south Korea with all the real powers including the prerogative of military supreme command under its control. That being the case, how can one solve substantially the questions of either replacing the armistice agreement with a peace agreement or eliminating military confrontation by meeting only with the south Korean authorities without the prerogative of the supreme command of their army? Its impossibility is quite beyond dispute.

Now, there are certain views to the effect that other countries besides the United States should also take part in the talks for the peaceful solution of the Korean question. But there is no such a country today as the United States that directly meddles in our internal affairs, aggravates the tension and creates the danger of war. And there is also no such a country as the United States that still keeps its troops stationed on the Korean territory.

The United States still remains the sole outside force directly responsible for the mounting tension and the danger of war created in our country. Against this background, we wonder which country would come and sit together with the United States at the talks for the settlement of the Korean question.

We contend that there is no reason whatsoever why the U.S. or the south Korean authorities could not accept our just and fair proposal for the tripartite talks as it springs from our aspiration to remove the acute tensions and the the source of war existing for scores of years and achieve durable peace in Korea. In this context, we find it necessary to note that our tripartite talks proposal has been made in full consideration of the long-maintained demand of the United States. The tripartite talks proposal was originally made first by the then U.S. Secretary of State in August 1976 after we had proposed the DPRK-U.S. talks. Then, in March 1978, ex-President Carter, in his talks with the head of state of a country on a visit to America, expressed great interest in contacts and talks between representatives of the D.P.R.K., the U.S. and south Korea, and the joint communique issued in July 1979 after his visit to south Korea also officially called for convocation of a "conference of high level authorities" between us, the United States and south Korea.

Again recently, the U.S. authorities repeatedly proposed the idea of tripartite talks.

In September last year the United States proposed to us privately through a third country that it has an intention to hold talks with the D.P.R.K. with regard to the question of the Korean Peninsula and that south Korea should be allowed to participate in the talks. U.S. President Reagan noted in his address made at the south Korean "parliament" in November last year that the United States would willingly participate in the talks with us with south Korea's participating there on an equal footing.

In view of all these facts, we consider that there is no reason for the United States to reject our proposal for tripartite talks.

Should tripartite talks be held, the United States would not feel awkward about sitting face to face with us and nothing would irritate the nerves of the south Korean authorities.

Comrade deputies,

The proposal made by the joint meeting to sign a peace agreement between us and the United States and adopt a declaration of non-aggression between the north and the south at the tripartite talks is an important step which makes it possible to decisively solve the question of easing the tensions and removing the danger of war in our country and creating preconditions for the independent and peaceful reunification.

As was stated at the joint meeting, the conclusion of a peace agreement, a substitute for the armistice agreement, between us and the United States, the two signatories to the Korean Armistice Agreement and the withdrawal of the U.S. troops along with the nuclear weapons from south Korea constitute the basic problems for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The Korean Armistice Agreement is to all intents and proposes an agreement to cease fire; it is not an agreement to guarantee a durable peace. While such an unstable situation of ceasefire that is neither peace nor war persists for more than 30 years in our country, tension has never been relaxed, but sometimes very acute touch-and-go situations were created which might trigger off war any moment.

In the past, the Government of the Republic proposed to the U.S. to sign a peace agreement on several occasions just in order to officially announce the end of Korean war by law, thereby terminating the unstable state of ceasefire.

We cannot understand why the United States finds it so difficult to accept our proposal for signing a peace agreement to convert the armistice into a durable peace in Korea.

Today when the danger of war is growing as never before, we consider it is high time the United States responded to our proposal for a peace agreement in order to achieve a durable peace and the peaceful reunification of Korea, to put an end to the abnormal state of the U.S. standing in military confrontation with us in Korea tens of thousands of miles away, and to enter into a new relationship between Korea and the U.S.

Should a peace agreement be signed between the DPRK and the U.S.A. and the U.S. troops be withdrawn from south Korea, the source of threatening peace in Korea and obstructing the independent and peaceful reunification of our country will be removed and the basic guarantee for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question be provided.

Along with the signing of a peace agreement between the DPRK and the U.S., the north and the south should adopt a declaration of non-aggression whereby the two sides give assurances of refraining from use of arms against each other and drastically cutting their armies and armaments.

When this declaration of non-aggression is adopted peace in our country will be a durable one and the so-called "problems after the withdrawal of the U.S. troops" be reliably guaranteed.

The joint meeting clarified the bright prospect of settling the reunification problem through a dialogue between the north and the south when the peace of the country and the preconditions for the independent and peaceful reunification are ensured with the signing of peace agreement with the U.S.A. and the adoption of the declaration of non-aggression between the north and the south, thus giving still more hope and firmer confidence to the entire Korean people for reunification.

As mentioned at the joint meeting, when the preconditions for the country's reunification are provided with the realization of our peace proposal, the north and the south would be able to hold a dialogue to reunify the country independently and peacefully.

In order to successfully carry forward a dialogue between the north and south, the two sides should above all respect and strictly observe the three principles of independence, peace and great national unity which the two sides agreed upon and firmly promised to the nation to fulfil already in the July 4 north-south joint statement.

It is necessary to reject any foreign interference and take the stance of solving the question of national reunification by the efforts of Koreans themselves on the principle of *chajusong*; it is necessary to desist from acts of resorting arms or increasing arms race in adherence to the principle of peace; and it is essential to put an end to the policy of anti-communist confrontation that foments antagonism and distrust between fellow countrymen and promote unity of the north and the south, transcending the differences in ideology and system on the principle of great national unity.

The most reasonable way of national reunification embodying the principles of independence, peace and great national unity is to found a unified confederal state in which the two regions exercise autonomy while having the different ideologies and systems existing in the north and the south as they are. For the establishment of such a confederal state a political consultative meeting such as a national conference should be convened embracing the reperesentatives of various parties, groupings and circles including the authorities of the north and the south so as to represent the general will of the entire Korean people in the north and the south.

When the confederal state based on autonomy is founded, neither side can force its things upon the other side nor can any one side swallow up the other side, and people who choose different ideas and systems with different doctrines and viewpoints will live harmoniously in one country.

The confederal state will be an independent state, not depending on others externally or being a satellite of any other country, and will be a neutral country not leaning to any side or joining any political or military alliance or bloc, and will be a peaceful country which will not participate or cooperate in any act of aggression.

At the north-south dialogue not only our porposal for establishing a confederal state but some other proposals to be made by the south may also be discussed with openmindedness.

(Continued on page 5)

Pacifists in West Germany formed a solid "people chain" from Stuttgart (the NATO military headquarters are located) to Neu-Ulm, a Pershing missile base, against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe. (Oct 31, 1983, issue of Newsweek)

Appeal of SPA of DPRK to Parliaments, Governments of All Countries of World

PYONGYANG, JANUARY 25 (KCNA) – The Third Session of the Seventh Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which opened in Pyongyang on January 25 discussed the agenda item "On providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland" and adopted an appeal to the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world.

Follows the full text of the appeal:

The 3rd Session of the 7th Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has discussed the agenda-item "On providing a guarantee for peace in Korea and promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland" to cope with the grave situation created on the Korean Peninsula, and is sending this appeal to the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world out of sincere desire to avert the oncoming danger of war and find the way for peaceful solution of the Korean question together with you.

The Korean Peninsula, where the destiny of the country and the nation was once trampled underfoot through history due to the contradictions between foreign powers and the collision of their interests, has been now turned more and more into a dangerous source of a new world war, a nuclear war which may bring a terrible holocaust to mankind.

While the huge armed forces stand in acute confrontation along the Military Demarcation Line, arms buildup is going on unlimitedly in south Korea.

There have been concentrated in south Korea more than 40,000 U.S. troops fully armed with heavy weapons, over 700,000 strong "ROK army" of south Korea and 10 million-para-military personnel, and the density of nuclear weapons deployed there far surpasses that of Western Europe.

Having already deployed in south Korea more than 1,000 tactical nuclear weapons of various kinds with great explosive power and "Lance" missiles, "F-16" fighter-bombers and other means of nuclear delivery, the United States will reportedly deploy there such latest-type medium-range nuclear missiles as "Pershing 2" and cruise missiles, whose ranges far surpass the boundary of Korea, and even neutron bombs, the most barbarous means of mass destruction.

The U.S. 7th Fleet equipped with nuclear weapons has moved its center of tactical deployment to the Korean East Sea and now is operating in the waters around south Korea, and numerous strategical bombers and fighter bombers are daily flying with nuclear bombs over south Korea and its vicinity.

The move to frame up a U.S.-Japan-south Korea tripartite military alliance is also being accelerated at its final stage. The tripartite military alliance, an Asian version of NATO, is aimed above all to open the road for the overseas dispatch of the Japanese "Self-Defence Forces" including their advance into the Korean Peninsula.

The United States is advertising its arms buildup as if it were for the sake of preventing "southward invasion" and preserving "peace".

We have never invaded the south" and we have made it clear time and again that we have no intention to "invade the south" in the future, too.

The continued concentration and reinforcement of armed forces and the strategical equipment including nuclear weapons by the United States in south Korea and its surrounding waters are aimed at turning south Korea more and more into a nuclear forward base to invade the other socialist countries.

With the "doctrine of Asia-Pacific priority" being advocated recently the East Asia including south Korea has been declared an "area vitally important for the interests of the United States" and the Korean Peninsula is defined as the "forefront of the U.S. strategy".

The bellicose circles of the United States openly clamour that they "would not rule out the use of nuclear weapons" in Korea in case of emergency.

While the anti-DPRK campaign for infusing the consciousness of north-south confrontation and whipping up a war atmosphere and inciting hatred for the fellow countrymen has been raised as never before, the provocative military actions and war exercises against us are being conducted more frequently in south Korea of late.

The United States, which has escalated nuclear war exercises on the Korean Peninsula under the code-name of the "Team Spirit" every year, plans this year to conduct war exercises, the largest ever in history, to perfect the "forestalling nuclear attack" posture against the northern half of the Republic with mobilization of huge armed forces more than 200,000 strong, nuclear-propelled aircraft battle group, hundreds of aircraft capable of carrying nuclear bombs and missiles of various kinds, with which a full scale modern war can be unleashed.

Under the present situation when the north-south confrontation has grown extremely acute no one can assert that such war exercises will not be converted into a real war.

The dark clouds of a war are now gathering every minute over the Korean Peninsula due to the aggravated confrontation between the north and the south, ceaseless expansion of armaments and adventurous war exercises such as the "Team Spirit 84" which is to be conducted very soon in south Korea.

The danger of a nuclear war in Korea has been raised as today's practical matter, not tomorrow's.

If a nuclear war broke out in Korea, it would expand beyond the bounds of the Korean Peninsula, disturb peace in Asia and the rest of the world and plunge mankind into the holocaust of nuclear war.

The Korean people and the people of the world find themselves now at the grave crossroads of peace or nuclear war.

Having considered that to ease the tension on the Korean Peninsula and make a new break-through for a peaceful solution of the Korean question in connection with the present acute situation is the most urgent national duty of our people as well as an important task of the times to defend peace in Asia and the rest of the world, we proposed on the 1st tripartite talks, with the south Korean authorities participating on an equal footing in the talks between us and the United States. To hold the tripartite talks is a most realistic and reasonable measure for the peaceful solution of the Korean question in view of the present situation.

Under the circumstances where the United States and the south Korean authorities are enforcing war policies against our Republic in close military collusion, unless we, the United States and the south Korean authorities sit face to face to have serious consultation, it is impossible to solve satisfactorily any problem related to the relaxation of the tension and fundamentally remove the danger of war in our country and to open a peaceful phase for the independent reunification of the fatherland.

The ruling authorities of the United States should accept our proposal and come out to the talks as they long ago officially expressed their intention and unofficially proposed through various channels to hold the tripartite talks. Under the condition where the United States is a signatory to the Korean Armistice Agreement and holds the prerogatives of the supreme military command and all other powers in south Korea, dialogue between the north and the south alone cannot solve the fundamental problems to find a way for peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification.

We maintain that the tripartite talks should solve the problems of signing a peace agreement between the DPRK and the United States and adopting a declaration of non-aggression between the north and the south.

When a peace agreement is signed and the U.S. troops are withdrawn from south Korea, the source of war and the main obstacle to the independent and peaceful reunification will be removed in our country and a bright prospect for a peaceful solution of the Korean question will open.

A declaration of non-aggression whereby the north and the south of Korea commit themselves not to resort to arms or attack the other side but drastically reduce the armies and armaments and terminate military confrontation will be one more important step conducive to peace in our country and the cause of its peaceful reunification and a firm guarantee for security on the Korean Peninsula after the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea.

When a legal guarantee of the relaxation of the tension in Korea is provided and preconditions for the independent and peaceful reunification are created with the signing of a peace agreement and adoption of a declaration of non-aggression at the tripartite talks, a reunification dialogue between the north and the south will be held to solve the question of reunification, an internal affair of our nation, in accordance with the ideas and the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity as clarified in the July 4 north-south joint statement.

Our current proposal is an expression of the sincere efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to resolve the grave situation on the Korean Peninsula which is dashing low and the brink of war through dialogue and negotiations on all accounts and achieve peace in Korea and the independent reunification of Korea; it is also a manifestation of our lofty desire to remain loyal to the cause of peace of the Asian and world peoples.

The parliaments and governments of all countries of the world which love peace and justice, today, the Korean Peninsula represents the focal point of world politics, and the Korean question is an important issue directly linked with the cause of world peace.

When the Korean question remains unsettled indefinitely as it is, a lasting peace and security can never be imagined in the world.

We ardently appeal to all the parliaments and governments the world over to pay a deep attention to the strained situation created on the Korean Peninsula and join our people in the struggle for the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

It is imperative, above all, to check and thwart the criminal schemes to unleash a nuclear war on the Korean Peninsula.

How can we remain an onlooker to the danger of nuclear war which would bring an irrevocable tragedy to the entire humanity !

We can never allow our nation to fall a victim to a nuclear war and our sacred territory to be devastated into a battlefield of a nuclear war, nor do we want mankind to suffer from the nuclear holocaust owing to war in Korea.

This is a critical moment for all of us to actively turn out in the sacred cause to defend world peace and the security of mankind, deeply conscious of our heavy duty and mission before the times and history, and transcending the differences in political views, religious beliefs and social systems.

All countries which truly love peace and value justice, must stop talking after the U.S. policy for nuclear war and raise higher than ever before their voice opposing and rejecting it.

We express the hope that the parliaments and governments of socialist countries, non-aligned countries, Third World countries and all the peace-loving countries of the world will strongly demand the United States withdraw nuclear weapons from south Korea without delay, stop bringing medium-range nuclear missiles and neutron weapons into south Korea, and put an immediate end to such nuclear war exercises as "Team Spirit 84", and will vigorously wage an anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movement to turn the East Asian region including the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone completely removed from the nuclear weapons.

When the countries of all the continents and regions on earth take a vigorous international joint action against the U.S. manoeuvres to provoke another Korean war, a nuclear war could be checked on the Korean Peninsula and peace in Asia and the rest of the world be safeguarded.

To ensure a durable peace and security on the Korean Peninsula calls for the ending of Korea's division and the reunification of the country. The continued division is the basic cause of persistent tensions and conflicts in this region.

Under the present situation the best way of averting the danger of war and achieving a durable peace in Korea, and creating preconditions for the independent national reunification is to hold the tripartite talks.

We hope that the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world will have a good understanding of the correctness of our new peace initiative on tripartite talks between us, the United States and the south Korean authorities and make every effort for their realization.

The Korean people, enjoying the active support and encouragement of parliaments and governments of all the peace- and justice-loving countries, will certainly achieve the cause of the country's reunification with united efforts of the entire nation by founding an independent, neutral and peace-loving confederal state.

The Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses the expectation that the parliaments and governments of all countries of the world will pay due attention to our appeal and show an affirmative response to it.

(Continued from page 4)

All this new proposal advanced at the joint meeting is indeed a peace programme for easing tensions and removing the danger of war permanently in Korea; and it is a nation-saving measure of epochal importance opening a bright prospect of peaceful reunification for the whole nation.

Today the peaceful solution of the Korean question is an urgent national task which can brook no further delay and it is the demand of our times. A clear-cut answer has been given to the burning question by the new proposal advanced at the Joint Meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly.

Now whether or not a breakthrough will be made in the peaceful solution of the Korean question depends entirely on the convocation of tripartite talks.

If the United States and the south Korean authorities have a correct understanding of our tripartite talks proposal of epochal significance and show a positive response to it, a new phase would undoubtedly be opened in the solution of the Korean question.

Peace in Korea is directly linked with world peace. The removal of the danger of war and the consolidation of peace on the Korean Peninsula are precisely to defend peace in Asia and the world.

We hope that the parliaments and governments, political parties and organizations and people from all walks of life in all countries of the world who are desirous of peace and progress will strongly support our constructive proposal to remove the danger of war and ensure the durable peace on the Korean Peninsula and bend every effort to cooperate for its earliest realization.

In particular, in order to remove the ever-growing danger of nuclear war in Korea, we strongly call upon them to unfold vigorous international movements for the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from south Korea which has become a nuclear armoury and a nuclear forward base of the United States and for the conversion of the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

I would like to propose to send an appeal in the name of the present session of the Supreme People's Assembly to the parliaments and governments of all countries the world over expressing such desire and expectation of the Government of the D.P.R.K. and the entire Korean people.

Comrade deputies,

The will of our nation to put a period to this history of calamities is unshakable though dark clouds of war are hanging over our land and the tragedy of national division still goes on.

To achieve durable peace and peaceful reunification of Korea is a just cause for our nation and all mankind as well.

No one can stand in the way of our Korean people who are vigorously advancing for the just cause, as the masters of their own destiny, with a lofty desire to consolidate peace and accomplish the historic cause of national reunification, the greatest desire of our nation, and contribute to world peace.

When we vigorously continue to wage a sacred struggle for independence, peace and reunification upholding the banner of the immortal Juche idea under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by respected Comrade Kim Il Sung the bright dawn of peace and peaceful reunification which is the long-cherished desire of our people will break soon on the three thousand *ri* land.

Let us struggle more dynamically to hasten the historical day of founding an independent and peaceful, unified country, completely free from the danger of war and the tragedy of split, united as firm as a rock behind the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Special Units Deployed in Kwangju for Possible Civil Disturbances: Secret U.S. Paper

A classified document from the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) shows that Seoul is positioning its army for a key role in quelling any new domestic upheaval.

The units being moved are the 11th and 13th Special Warfare Command (SWC) Brigades of the south Korean army, the document says.

The prime reason for the move is internal, as the document puts it, "The assignment of the 11th SWC Brigade (in Kwangju) fulfills a perceived need for a trained riot-control element in the political volatile Cholla Namdo province."

"During late January and early February 1982, all SWC brigades underwent extensive riot-control training and were furnished with special equipment," it added.

Here is the story carried by the U.S. newspaper Guardian dated Aug. 24, 1983.

South Korea is positioning its army for a key role in quelling any new domestic upheaval.

Two years ago (August 1982), the army ordered the relocation of two Special Warfare Command (SWC) units away from the North Korean border to new bases in the far south of the country. The army also reorganized its forces in the Seoul area. The government implemented these moves—accomplished with the knowledge and acquiescence of the U.S. command in South Korea—out of both strategic and political considerations, according to a classified document from the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) recently leaked and made public by the Korean Support Committee in Oakland, Calif.

The redeployment involved sending insurgency-trained forces to the Kwangju area, site of the May 1980 uprising in which 2000 Koreans fighting for democracy were massacred by the troops of dictator Chon Du Hwan. Kwangju and Seoul have traditionally been the most important centers of opposition to the dictatorship.

The units being moved are the 11th and 13th SWC Brigades of the South Korean Army, which until last year, were stationed in the central sector of the front line (the DMZ) that stretches across the Korean peninsula. According to the DIA's secret weekly briefing book published on July 23, 1982, one reason for the redeployment was that the two units were specially trained commando forces which should not be employed in the kind of massive confrontation expected along the DMZ. Now, they will be held in reserve and then "inserted" behind North Korean lines. This military justification, while apparently a real consideration, is also qualified as the "ostensible" reason in another part of the document.

The entire document is classifed "NOFORN"—i.e., "No Foreign Dissemination"—and is thus to be kept from South Korean officers. The DIA has refused to confirm or deny its authenticity.

The prime reason for the move is internal. As the document puts it, "The assignment of the 11th SWC Brigade (in Kwangju) fulfills a perceived need for a trained riot-control element in the politically volatile Cholla Namdo province. The 11th Brigade was one of two such units sent to Kwangju to quell the May 1980 riots. During late January and early February 1982, all SWC brigades underwent extensive riot-control equipment. Thus far, the 11th Brigade, already unpopular in Cholla Namdo is being moved without the public's awareness. When the move is discovered, the residents will probably react with extreme resentment."

The reorganization in the capital, accomplished at the same time, involved the replacement of the 9th Infantry Division, previously along the front, with a newly formed brigade—again with the military justification that the smaller unit would be more efficient, while the 9th could then be moved to Seoul as a "corps reserve element."

This, however, was only part of a "two-fold" reason for the move. As the document points out, "the 9th Division was used during the period of political unrest after the assassination of President Pak [Jung Hi, in October 1979] "—i.e. it has proved its loyalty to Chon Du Hwan, who fought his way to the top of the military pecking order during that period. The document goes on: "With its forthcoming relocation, the 9th Division's role as a key element in maintaining internal political stability is amplified. Additionally, the . . . Corps reserve mission would allow one division to deal with civil disturbances while the other is available to augment forward defense."

There is no hint in the document that the moves, which "clearly go beyond expressed tactical concepts and considerations," were in any way resisted by the U.S.; rather, the author seems to see nothing unusual in using the U.S.-trained and -supplied army for internal repression: "These . . . relocations . . . will improve the [South Korean] Army's tactical capabilities and increase the likelihood of the units being used during internal civil disorder . . . . The problems associated with transporting these units if they are needed for internal political reasons are greatly simplified."

The perceived need for a loyal division near Seoul highlights Chon Du-Hwan's fears of dissidence within the army. According to Washington sources close to exiled opposition leader Kim Dae-jung, there is growing resentment among frontline officers, who favor moves toward democracy, of the "political" generals who are careful to keep control of units around the capital. Apparently, Chon is worried that Kim may not be unrealistic in hoping that army units will one day join the coalition of radical intellectuals, liberal politicians and workers that threatens his hold on power.

The DIA document was released in Oakland on July 12, by the Korea Support Committee, a Bay Area group that supports the democratic movement in South Korea. Ed Kinchley, co-chair of the Committee, also sent a letter to Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), asking him for a congressional investigation of the moves. He noted, "We are very upset that the administration's F[iscal] Y[ear] 1984 request for military aid to the R[epublic] O[f] K[orea] to the tune of $230 million for sales credits and $1.8 million for IMET [International Military Education and Training] was recently approved by Congress with little or no discussion."

New Zealand Monthly Review

Death at Kwangju

The following article on the Kwangju incident run in the November 1983 issue of New Zealand Monthly Review was written by Rob Stevens. Here he pointed out the growing contradiction of the society as the main cause of the incident.

In May 1980, south Korean martial law troops, under the direct command of General Chun Do Hwan, head of the Defence Security Command and Acting Director of the Korean CIA, killed somewhere between 1,000 and 3,000 citizens of the city of Kwangju. They wounded a further 10,000 and rounded up several thousand more members of the 200,000 strong demonstrating citizenry of this city of about 800,000. Why were a quarter of the entire population – an unprecendented proportion anywhere in the world – of this city's people so outraged as to join the protest?

Since the answer lies everywhere in the history and conditions of everyday life in south Korea, one may as well begin on Novmeber 13, 1970, when a young factory worker at the Peace Market in Seoul shouted "We are not machines!" and then, with petrol and the text of the Labor Standards Law, burned himself to death in protest against exploitative working conditions. Twenty-three year old Chon Taeil had toiled there for five years at a garment factory for a monthly salary of only 23,000 won (NZ$48). He and his fellow workers had tried to improve their working conditions by organising a trade union, but collaboration between employers, the Government between employers, the Government and the media ensured their defeat.

However, no sooner had Chon Taeil set himself ablaze, when working conditions at Peace Market were starkly revealed to the public: 90% of the workers there were young women between 11 and 20 years of age, who made over 80% of the garments consumed in the country. Their working hours were not fixed but frequently exceeded 16 hours a day. At peak seasons they were often forced to work for two or three days without sleep, shop owners providing pep pills or injections to keep them awake. They were cramped in small, low-ceilinged garrets—the notorious "Upper Room"—crammed with machines, materials, and refuse, with no ventilation, sunlight, or toilet. Their salary was far below subsistence level: 7,000–8,000 won (NZ$17) a month for machine operators and 3,000 won (NZ$7) for the assistants. All suffered from malnutrition and over 90% had respiratory ailments including tuberculosis. Most had contracted eye and stomach diseases and nervous disorders.

The Christchurch Star (23.7.80) has reported that working conditions in another factory famous for its export performance, electronics, are no better than in textiles.

Korea's Electronics Industry

"Kim is one of 100,000 workers in South Korea's export-oriented electronics industry. About 90% are young women aged 18 to 23. They work eight to 10 hours a day, six days a week. In 1978 the average wage in Korean factories with U.S. investment was less than $4 a day. Basic living expenses of about $112 a month, which includes only a small portion of meat and no medical care or entertainment, eat up Kim's entire wage. And many women must support their families as well as themselves (small wonder with over two million unemployed). In a similar Korean assembly plant 95% of the total workforce developed severe eye problems during their first year of employment, 88% got chronic conjunctivitis; 44% nearsightedness; and 19% astigmatism. Virtually anyone who stays on the job more than three years must wear glasses and is called 'Grandma' by her friends." Korean Government repression of trade unions has made legitimate protest almost impossible in that country.

In desperation people have resorted to the type of protest that cut down young Chon Taeil. In September 1977, the Labour Union he died for was revived by his mother, Lee Sosun (50 years old). When the Government arrested her, the workers in their "Declaration of Desperation" vowed to fast until their demands were met: "The Riot Police, promptly sent in, cruelly beat us, some of us until we were unconscious, and seized 42 workers, including our mother, Lee Sosun, as one would seize dogs, not human beings. They then tortured and disgraced us." One young man, Min Chong Duk, jumped from a third floor window, and another, Park Ae Chang, slashed his wrists. Chong Taeil's sister and a friend tried to jump from the window, but were caught by the legs by the other workers.

Urban Slums

Mass poverty and unemployment in the rural areas of South Korea have forced millions of people into urban slums, which form pools of cheap disposable labour for the highly exploitative export industries, which also cause large-scale unemployment in countries to which they export, like Australia and New Zealand.

These people squat illegally, and although the Government daily bulldozes squatters' areas, new ones spring to life like bamboo shoots. It seems that the number of such squatters round Seoul is in the region of three million. In a move reminiscent of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, the Korean Government in 1970 removed some half a million slum dwellers to Kwangju, a satellite city of Seoul. Yet no sooner does the Government relocate people than new squatters stream into the original area. Periodic fights break out between slum dwellers and relocation teams.

By 1980 it had become clear that the extraordinarily repressive regime of Park Chung Hee, which had survived for 18 years, was going to lead to some sort of explosion. Even the main vehicle of that regime, the military, could see that, and so top military leaders planned and carried out the assassination of Park in 1979. General Chun Do Hwan emerged as Park's successor and the heir to his dictatorial regime.

Peaceful Demonstrations

It was in the city of Kwangju that the movement for democratisation took the lead, and in growing but always peaceful demonstrations, called for liberal reforms. By May 1980 these demonstrations began to assume considerable proportions. According to eyewitness reports, "the police walked in the front and rear of the demonstrators, but they did not suppress the demonstration." It was in this climate of peaceful but firm demands by growing numbers of people, mainly but not exclusively in Kwangju, that General Chun Do Hwan initiated a series of actions that were to reserve a place in history for him as one of the most ruthless of modern political-military dictators. Martial Law was proclaimed over the entire country, and the General's paratroopers were sent in to clear up the demonstration. At 10.00 a.m. on May 18 the first student leader was bayoneted in cold blood, and the Prof who protested this was beaten to death on the spot. According to the eyewitness:

> "Very rapidly the indiscriminate injuring and killing of citizens and students by the troops spread to the whole city . . . Since the troops spread to the whole city . . . Since the troops did not fire on the 18th and 19th, but killed and injured citizens mainly with their rifle butts and bayonets. Their brutality was extreme. Three students of Kwangju Girls High School, though not actively resisting, were stabbed with bayonets and killed. A 70-year old woman, protesting against this brutal act by saying to the troops, 'Are you really human beings?' was beaten to death. Five girl students of Kwangju Central High School were stripped naked, and after having their breasts gouged out, were killed for the simple reason that they had carried stones to the student demonstrations." The local people said that General Chun Do Hwan had made his soldiers take some kind of hallucinogenic drug, so inconceivable was their brutality.

Mass Rebellion

It was this inconceivable brutality of the General's troops which drove the Kwangju citizenry into mass rebellion. Over 200,000 (some reports said 300,000) citizens took to the streets, and armed with sticks, steel pipes, kitchen knives, and whatever they could lay hold of, eventually drove the martial law troops out of their city. Many people who did not take an active part in the demonstrations gave what support they could. For example, managers of bus and taxi companies offered their vehicles with drivers, and delivered food for the demonstrators. Even the police sided with the citizens, although those who were seen to assist demonstrators were brutally killed by the military. For almost a week, the citizenry were free and in command of their own affairs, but on May 26 a heavily reinforced military attacked them and completed the carnage that was to immortalise the names of Kwangju and Chun Do Hwan. The United States government's contribution is well known. In response to a request from the command, it immediately agreed to release Korean troops under the Joint United States–Republic of Korea Command for the suppression of the Kwangju citizenry. The New Zealand government's contribution has been a bit belated: in 1981 Mr. Muldoon visited south Korea and said how impressed he was with that "country's spectacular economic achievements." Is the government's welcome of Chun Do Hwan to this country intended to condition us to the methods by which that dictator has produced such "spectacular economic achievements"?

"Team Spirit 84": Nuclear Preliminary War in Korea

By Kim Chong I
Special to The People's Korea

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again has become the avowed target of nuclear attack simulated in the current joint U.S.-south Korean military exercise "Team Spirit 84", mobilizing 207,000 troops, the largest scale in history.

Aimed at the DPRK, it is an American test of strength for showdown in Asia and a nuclear test war. At the same time, it is another most serious challenge to peace in Asia and the rest of the world, and a grave provocation to the Korean people and the other peace-loving peoples of the globe.

It is because that if war breaks out in this region, it obviously would easily expand to Asia and the world because massive armaments and nuclear weapons are deployed on the southern part of the Korean Peninsula where no dialogue but most severe conflict existed.

Even more provocative, the joint war game was carried out as scheduled in defiance of the DPRK's initiative to hold three-way talks with Washington and Seoul and to declare non-aggression. Pyongyang wants to replace the armistice accord with a peace agreement in order to reduce the most serious tensions prevailing on the Korean Peninsula since 1953.

Another Nuclear Threat to DPRK: Comparison with the Past

The "Team Spirit 84" war game launched on Feb. 1 and will continue into mid-April, involving 207,000 strong combat soldiers, among them 60,000 Americans and 147,000 south Koreans.

With participation of the U.S. seventh fleet, some 40,000 American troops in south Korea will be joined by American troops from Japan, the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii.

Ultra-sophisticated weapons deployed for the war game include nuclear-capable warplanes F-15s, F-111s, F-16s and ground-attack and support UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters, and Lance missiles, will be put into action.

The "Team Spirit"-series of war games started in 1976 with mobilization of 46,000 military personnel, of which 6,000 were Americans and 40,000 south Korean troops.

(See the Table)

As years go by, however, the series has evidently turned out to be for use of nuclear weapons against the DPRK.

The scale of the current "Team Spirit 84" is far beyond that of any NATO exercises ever held in the past. A given NATO exercise, a nuclear war rehearsal designed to deliver nuclear warheads onto Eastern Europe, involves three divisions on the average whose division strength is 12,000 troops.

First of all, participating in "Team Spirit 84" are nearly 210,000 combat forces including more than 60,000 GIs.

The DPRK possesses no nuclear weapons, with neither Chinese nor Russian troops on its soil, while in south Korea there are sited more than 1,000 nuclear weapons which can be used by some 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there at any moment in their first strike against the north.

Moreover, there is no realistic hope of an effective DPRK electronic warfare against the Americans. Indeed, the American forces deployed in south Korea and Japan outnumber, outgun, outperform those of the DPRK.

This array of awesome nuclear force in south Korea is far from defensive.

Given the American will and readiness to lauch a surprise war against the DPRK, Washington has made public a possible use of nuclear weapons in an assault on the Far Eastern state. The UPI-revealed a top-secret Pentagon document, "Fiscal 1984-88 Defense Guidance" calls for the Americans strikes on the DPRK when the Soviet Union makes a thrust into the Middle East. This is beyond normal thinking, conceived only by the hard-core bellicose elements led by Reagan. This operational plan is a most serious defiance of international law and flagrant flout of the national sovereignty of the Korean people.

It is because the DPRK is a totally independent state while south Korea is dominated by the United States which has the operational control of the south Korean forces. Therefore, it never stands to reason to attack the DPRK for reprisals against the Soviet conduct. If this kind of logic were justified, the Soviet or Chinese assaults on the U.S. allies as Japan and south Korea would be totally justified.

Against this background, the current U.S.-south Korean war game poses a real threat of nuclear war to the DPRK.

Given the American thinking that it has a far easier option to use nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula, the "Team Spirit 84" is clearly another "test war" and "preliminary war" against the DPRK.

Asian Version of NATO: Tripartite Military System

With the appearance of Reagan as U.S. President the world military tensions have even further been aggravated, as proved in the Lebanon bomb blasts in the Middle East, invasion of Grenada in the Carribeans, assasination of Aquino, the Rangoon incident which Chon Du Hwan himself plotted and a KAL plane dowing which followed, its invasion of the USSR territory in Asia. Reagan has exerted his efforts to promote the American "interests and security" in the world by means of the "policy of strength" in a bid to revive "strong America".

West Europe and the oil-producing Middle East once figured most in Washington's policy considerations as "vitally important for their interests and security".

However in recent years, North East Asia, particularly the Korean Peninsula, has been given growing importance by policy makers in Washington.

With the current military tensions created in North East Asia, Washington is encouraging Japan's expansion of its armed forces.

At talks between Reagan and Japanese premier Nakasone in October last year during his visit to Japan, he officially requested Japan's further efforts to expand its "defense" capability which accounts for the largest share in the state budget.

Particularly, at their second talk Reagan asked Nakasone that Japan should make an important contribution to "peace and stability" in Asia and bear a greater defense role. Nakasone made a promise to do his best for upgrading defense capability for "peace and stability" in the Far East based on the mutual security treaty.

In the 1981 talks between Reagan and the then Japanese premier Suzuki, the "defense of Japan" and "peace and stability in the Far East" were given almost equal importance. However, the Reagan-Nakasone talks agreed on Japan's increased military role as a keystone of American Asian policy. Meanwhile it was stated at the Reagan-Chon talks last year that the security of south Korea is "vitally important" for American security. This proves actual upgrading of south Korea's position in American world strategy. At their talks Japanese premier Nakasone and Gen. Chon in January 1983 called for closer mutual cooperation on a basis of the shared understanding that the cooperative relations between Tokyo and Seoul would be essential for peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

There is no military agreement between Tokyo and Seoul such as the U.S.-south Korea mutual defense treaty, but their ongoing moves show they have already established substantially something of the sort in the areas of communication, information, transportation and rear support.

Japan started studies on the potential blockade of four straits – Soya, Tsugaru, Tsushima and Korea Strait.

Questioned by opposition members on this problem at the Diet, premier Nakasone first admitted his mistake and answered they are three straits except for the Korea Strait. But his remarks on the blockade of the four straits could not be a mistake.

Tokyo and Seoul are known to have been jointly seeking for possible operational cooperation in the waters centering on the four straits in case of "contingency" on the Korean Peninsula.

Military exchange between Tokyo and Seoul has been promoted behind the screen to avoid public criticism.

Plainclothes officers of Japanese Self-Defense Forces participated in the "Team Spirit 83" exercise last year as observers and recently some of south Korean military school cadets visited Japan for exchange of experiences and study of joint operations in case of "contingency" on the Korean Peninsula.

Leading Japanese corporations have found themselves involved in the military industry of south Korea in form of investments, technical tieup and exports of parts of highly sophisticated weapons as the export once broke into the open, and arose vociferous outcries of the Japanese public.

Just before last year's "Team Spirit 83", Japanese navy and nuclear-powered attack carrier Enterprise of the U.S. seventh fleet jointly held anti-submarine exercises in the sea off Kyushu, Japan, and joint operations of the U.S. Air Force and Japan's Air Self-Defense Force were carried out successively in the wake of an anti-submarine exercise.

Soon after those exercises, the American armed forces proceeded to join the three-dimentional military exercises with south Korean troops, called "Team Spirit 83".

Virtually a three-way military system of the United States, Japan and south Korea has gone a long way to its completion in view of Japan's 1,000-mile "sea lane" defense operation study which covers the Korean Peninsula, and the much-publicized operational plan of the "blockade of the four straits" in case of "contingency", as well as the active moves of Washington, Tokyo and Seoul toward expansion of their military strength.

Americans Want No Peace in Korea

On Jan. 10 the DPRK made an epochal initiative to hold tripartite talks with Washington and Seoul on replacing the present armistice agreement with a peace agreement with the U.S., and on declaring the pledge of mutual non-aggression with the south Koreans, in order to reduce extremely strained military tensions prevailing on the Korean Peninsula and seek a way for peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification.

This notwithstanding, the Americans and their local client south Koreans are not only turning their faces away from the Pyongyang's reasonable and conducive proposal, but kicked off the dangerous "Team Spirit 84" military exercise from Feb. 1 aimed at the nuclear surprise attack against the DPRK.

All these facts tell that neither Americans nor south Koreans want peace in this region of the world or Korean reunification but they want military tensions for the eventual showdown of strength and perpetuating the division of Korea.

Chronological table of "Team Spirit" war games

Period	Number of Troops Involved	Main American Units	Operations
Jun. 10–20 1976	46,000 (40,000 S. Korean troops and 6,000 GI's)	the ninth amphibious brigade, Okinawa, the 1st marine air wing	combined landing operations codenamed "Beacon Cherry"
Mar. 28–Apr. 13 1977	87,000 (74,000 S. Korean troops and 13,000 GI's)	the 18th Tactical Fighter Grop, Okinawa, the 9th amphibious brigade, the 1st marine air wing, carrier Midway	combined landing operations
Mar. 7–17 1978	149,000 (107,000 S. Korean troops and 42,000 GI's)	the 25th infantry division, a Lance missile battery, the 9th regiment of the 3rd marine division, an F-111 squadron	combined landing operations; river-crossing operations; Lance missile-firing, air-sea joint warfare; emergency aircraft take-off and landing on expressways
Mar. 1–17 1979	168,000 (100,000 S. Korean troops and 56,000 GI's)	the Marines-Okinawa, the 1st marine air wing, an F-15 squadron, an F-111-A-7 wing, a Lance missile battery, a B-52 flight, the 25th infantry division	combined landing drills; Lance missile-firing drill, air-ground joint warfare
Mar. 1–Apr. 20 1980	154,000 (100,000 S. Korean troops and 54,000 GI's)	A Midway carrier group, the 25th infantry division, 9th amphibious brigade Okinawa, marine aircraft 100, 600 air force planes from the U.S. mainland and an F-4 wing from Alaska	naval task force operation; anti-submarine warfare; river-crossing, landing, air force scrambling, air-to-ground warfare
Feb. 1–Apr. 10 1981	161,500 (100,000 S. Korean troops and 61,500 GI's)	marines-Okinawa, F-15, F-111 squadrons, 25th infantry division, a battalion of the 7th infantry division, E-3As, over 700 warplanes, 7th fleet vessels	combined landing; river-crossing; air-dropping, anti-submarine warfare, NBC warfare
Feb. 12–Apr. 14 1982	166,000 (102,000 S. Korean troops and 64,600 GI's)	3rd marine division-Okinawa, 25th infantry division, the infantry division, F-15, B-52 units, warplanes from the Philippines and Midway-carried warplanes	landing operations; river-crossing, air-ground joint warfare; electronics warfare, NBC warfare
Feb. 1–Apr. mid-April 1983	191,000 (11,800 S. Korean troops and 73,000 GI's)	6th army units, 1st army command; 7th infantry division; 82nd airborne division, 25th infantry division, 7th fleet units, 3rd marine division-Okinawa, 43rd strategic air wing (Guam-based B-52s), Enterprise- and Midway-based warplanes	three-divisional warfare; nuclear warfare

Priority for 1984: Peace in Korea

Rodong Sinmun Editorial on 3-Way Talks Offer

By Aidan Foster-Carter
Special to The People's Korea

PROLOGUE

I visited Korea for the first time in August 1982. Arriving in Seoul on my first full day I took a bus to Kanghwa-do. I wanted to see with my own eyes the great tragedy of Korea: namely, the utterly unjustified, artificial and intolerable division which befell the country nearly forty years ago, and which still persists despite the earnest desire of sixty million Korean people for the reunification of their land.

There is a hill on Kanghwa island, on which you can stand and look across the Imjin river with binocular into the northern half of Korea. The south Korean authorities would like one to feel a sense of fears: they portray the North as mysterious, unknown, closed, warlike, utterly different from the south.

I think I must have disappointed them, however. When I looked north, I saw nothing different. Across the Imjin river, I saw the same countryside, the same trees, the same ancient land of Korea. And what I felt as I looked was not fear, but an overwhelming sadness and anger: sadness that such a unique tragedy could have befallen the Korean people, and anger at those responsible for causing this division and allowing it to persist.

In fact, I was so moved by this experience that I wrote a *tifo* about it. For those who do not know, *tifo* is a quintessentially Korean form of poetry: short, but to the point. My own *tifo* was written in English, and it does not pretend to be great poetry. But the sentiments are genuine enough:

The same mountains, the same trees;
the same waters, the same breeze;
One country, one place;
one people, one race;
Fish can swim across, birds can fly;
so why not you, why not I?

The Intolerable Division of Korea

Such a structure of national division is totally unique in the modern world. Sometimes people cite the case of the two German states as a parallel. However, these are limitations to the similarity of the two cases.

In the first place, the division of Germany arose on the basis of an agreed division of a defeated aggressor nation which had recently been a major threat to world peace. Nothing could be more different than Korea. Korea attacked no one, threatened no one. How could it? After all, Korea had been for 35 years groaning under the brutal oppression of Japanese colonialism. It was Japan, not Korea, which was also a defeated aggressor nation in 1945. Yet Japan itself was not divided.

Instead, this tragedy befell Korea. So, 1945, which should have been the joyous years of liberation for Korea, became instead the years of a new and unprecedented tragedy: the division of Korea, which was neither caused nor wished by Koreans, but forced upon them by outside forces.

That is one difference between the Korean and German situations. There is also another. Although there exist two German states, there are at least some contacts between them. People can write to each other, or telephone, or even visit; they can watch each other's TV, and listen to the radio. So, even though they are divided into two states, they still do not completely go their separate ways; but manage to preserve some communication and have some overall sense of nationhood.

In Korea, the case is very different. Because of the circumstances of Korea's division, and the ensuing and devastating fratricidal civil war, even these sorts of small human contacts do not exist. Instead, millions of families remain divided, with no means of getting in touch with each other or even knowing if their relatives in the other half are alive or dead.

Nor is the tragedy of division only a human one. Economically, too, the division of Korea has been a crippling blow, separating as it did the traditionally more agricultural south from the main sources of minerals to the North.

Although great economic progress has been made in Korea despite this handicap, imagine how much great it would be if the two halves of Korea could once again resume their rightful and age-old unity.

Moves for Reunification

The obvious next question is: How did this tragic division of Korea come about? While not evading this question, I should like to propose a somewhat different starting point and emphasis. Instead of concentrating only on the past history, I would like to suggest that the main question now should be: How can this intolerable division of Korea be ended, once for all and as rapidly as possible?

Clearly, history is important. The crucial point, here, is that the division of Korea was forced by foreign occupation. And I would go further, and suggest that a major reason why the division of Korea persists is also because of foreign occupation.

At this point we have to be more specific. If we are talking about foreign troops on the Korean Peninsula, then whose troops are they and where are they to be found? Those in the West who are unfamiliar with the Korean situation often tend to assume a symmetry which does not in fact exist. Admitting that south Korea has close ties with the U.S.A. and also Japan, they assume that it is the same between North Korea and (say) Russia or China.

However, examining the facts shows that the cases are not the same. It is true that North Korea has a socialist system while south Korea has a capitalist one, so naturally each side has more links with countries sharing similar systems. But this is not the point of issue.

It is not the case that both Korean states have foreign troops on their territory. It is not the case that both Korean states have nuclear warheads on their territory. It is not the case that both Korean states have their armed forces under the ultimate control of a commander of foreign troops. All these things are true only of south Korea; none of them is true of north Korea.

To say this is to talk about simple facts. It is not a question of ideological preference for one side or the others in Korea, but of a real symmetry in the situation which any realistic proposals for reducing tension have to take into account as the empirical starting-point.

That is why, for some ten years, north Korea has proposed direct peace talks with the U.S.A. Sadly, the U.S.A. has never seriously considered this proposal. Some people in the West thought that it was unfair or unrealistic to exclude south Korea. Yet it is a verifiable fear of history that (1) the 1950-53 war was essentially fought between north Korea and the United States, and (2) south Korea refused to sign the armistice agreement.

The DPRK's New Proposals

Contrary to its image in the West, I believe that the whole history of north Korean proposals for talks, at different times and in different contexts, with both the U.S.A. and south Korea shows that north Korea is far from being stubborn and unyielding. If any doubt remained on this, it should have been allayed by what I can only call the sensational new proposals made by Pyongyang earlier this month.

For the first time, north Korea has now proposed tripartite talks between itself, south Korea and the U.S.A. These would be a necessary prelude to direct bilateral talks between north and south Korea concerning essential reunification.

No one should underestimate the courage of north Korea in unilaterally making this radical proposal. Not the least of the tragedies of Korea's division is the way in which positives tend to become rigid, even frozen. As Marx said, tradition "weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living". It sometimes seems to be an outsides fact of the main reason why Korea remains divided is because each side is more concerned to cling to its own positions above all, other than take the risk of exploring new measures for peace.

In this connection, it would be wrong to suppose that past proposals by north Korea have been unreasonable.

All the more courageous, then, is the recent north Korean proposal to include south Korea in its talks. This shows, I believe, that north Korea is prepared to be extremely flexible in pursuing the cherished goal of peaceful reunification. The question now is, what response have the north Korean proposals received?

Responses to the DPRK Proposals: 2, 4, 6 to talk?

Rodong Sinmun on Jan. 13 stressed that the proposal for tripartite talks advanced by the joint meeting of the Central People's Committee and the Standing Committee of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a new peace proposal and nation-saving measure which will fundamentally remove the danger of war, ensure peace on the Korean Peninsula and make a breakthrough for a peaceful solution of the question of national reunification.

The editorial of the paper titled "New Epochal Step for Peace in Korea and Her Peaceful Reunification" notes that the proposal of the joint meeting for tripartite talks is a new important measure of epochal significance for a peaceful solution of the Korean question. Follows its gist:

The situation on the Korean Peninsula has been extremely strained and the danger of a nuclear war is increasing there. Under such condition the only fundamental measure to open a favorable phase for peace in Korea and her independent and peaceful reunification is to meet one another and have a dialogue.

It is an indispensable demand for the solution of the Korean question to hold talks between us and the United States.

Our proposal to hold the tripartite talks by letting the south Korean authorities participate in the Korea-U.S. talks is connected with the present situation in which they are involved in the Korean strategy of the U.S.

If the south Korean authorities have even the slightest intention to do something for the nation, they must not try to make the U.S. troops stay on in south Korea but make them withdraw from there, renounce the policy of north-south confrontation and take practical steps for the relaxation of tensions and have the readiness to discuss these problems at the tripartite talks. The tripartite talks will provide the south Korean authorities with an opportunity to discard the wrong stand they have so far maintained and take a correct road for the nation.

For the peaceful solution of the Korean question the tripartite talks must be an arena for concluding a peace agreement between Korea and the United States and adopting a declaration of non-aggression between the north and south as we proposed.

Regretably, first responses to the new north Korean proposals appears to suggest that the same spirit of reasonableness and flexibility is not yet appeared in other quarters. South Korea, first, is reported as insisting on talks between north and south Korea, it should be pointed out that the north Korean proposal does not envisage this — but as a next staff after talks aimed at reducing military tension in the first instance. In the north Korean view, that is what must come first; and, given all the circumstances, the USA must also be a party to such talks.

Such a sequence seems both fair and realistic. What north Korea is saying is that, while there can obviously be only two parties to eventual reunification (namely, north and south Korea). This must be preceded by talks aimed at resolving the huge risk to world peace posed by the armes race in the Korean Peninsula. And these talks, first, must come first, must involve three parties: north and south Korea, and the USA.

So the south Korean response, so far, seems to confuse these two stages and two subjects of discussion. Other responses to north Korea's proposals seem to be talks from similar confusion. The USA, for instance, has reportedly proposed four-way talks between north and south Korea, themselves, and China.

But it is far from clear why China should be involved. Although Chinese troops fought in the Korean war, they all left Korea in 1958. There are no Chinese troops in north Korea today. China is of course a good friend of north Korea, as well as having increasingly friendly relations with the USA. As such, it may be able to play a useful role in some circumstances. But the position of China visions north Korea is in no way equivalent to that of the USA visions south Korea, and it helps nobody to pretend otherwise.

Much the same may be said concerning the reported Japanese proposal for six-way talks; involving not only north and south Korea, the USA and China, but also the USSR and Japan itself. Again, such a proposal puts the just before the house. Doubtless, at a law stage, when moves towards reconciliation in Korea an already further advanced, there will be much to talk about between Korea and in four powerful neighbours. But it is hard to see this should be regarded as the way to begin.

Conclusion: Who is for peace in Korea?

In summary, I believe that the importance of the new north Korean proposals cannot be stressed too much. Not only do they seem to me to be sensible and well-grounded; they also represent an act of very considerable political courage.

How will south Korea respond, and the US? It is early days yet. One may still hope that the first reactions, reported about, do not represent the ultimate or considered reactions. The ball is now firmly in the court of south Korea and the U.S.A., and one prays that they will ponder very deeply how to respond. I sincerely hope that they will recognize the epoch-making character of the new north Korean olive branch, and respond both in a similar spirit and with equal political daring and courage.

Forty years is already too long for Korea to be divided, and every additional day is one day to many. Given courage and imagination on all sides, I firmly believe that the reunification of Korea is a real possibility over the next few years. Times have changed since 1945. Today, the main hindrance is the sheer of old positions, old commitments, old battles. Those issues were and are real enough; but basically they represent the past, and it is high time for Korea to look to the future.

There is nothing more important than Korean reunification. History will judge very harshly anyone who puts their own narrow sectional interests before the desire of the whole people to be one, and who prefers to defend an existing position or system rather than daring to think baldly and more towards reunification.

One could say that north Korea has thrown down the gauntlet. But this gauntlet is an olive branch, and a very courageous one at that. I hope that the other side will show the same courage, imagination, and a spirit of reconciliation. The world is waiting.

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